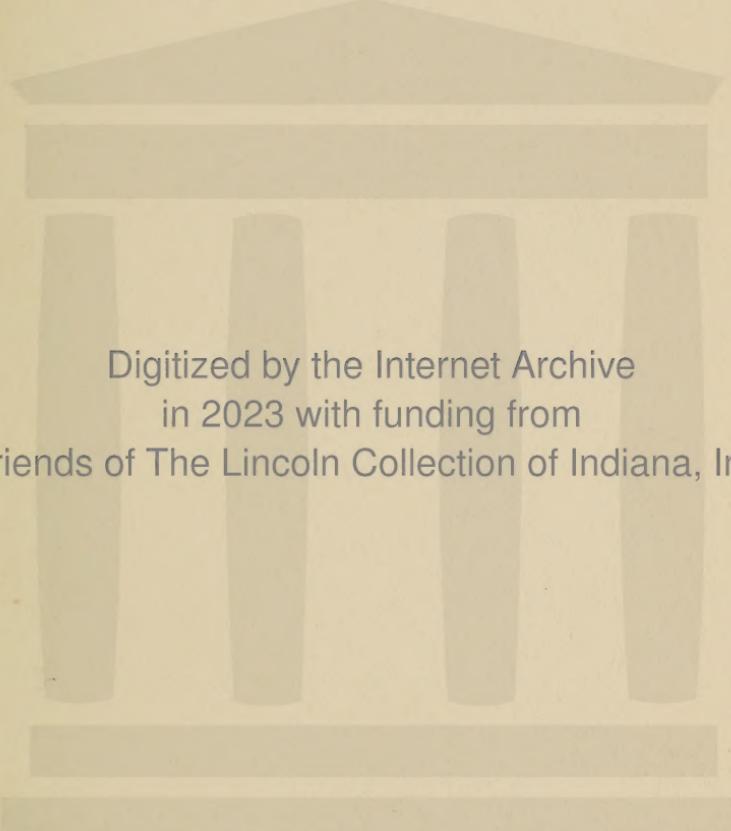


THE AMERICAN

Emily L. Coleman Fischer

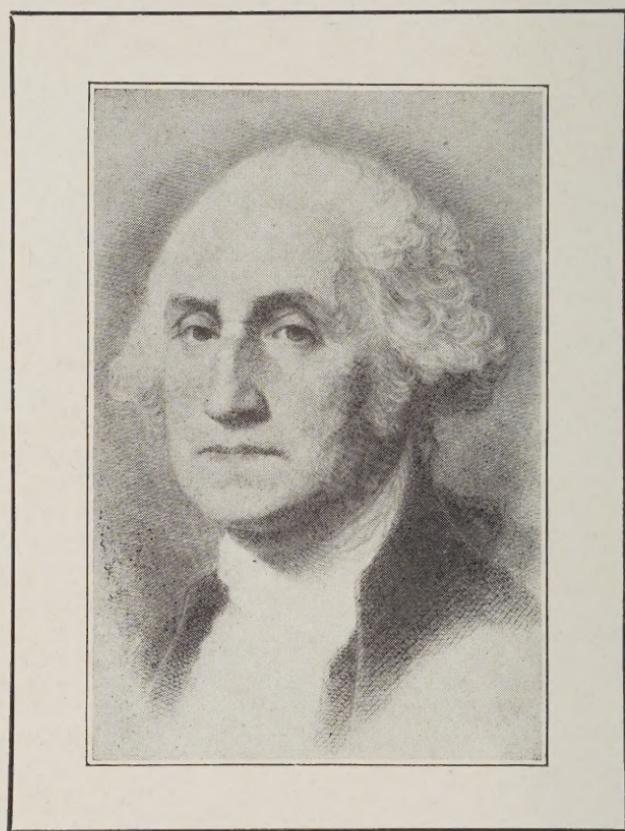
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Not less than seven cities outside the United States of America have erected public statues to honor the memory of George Washington: Paris, Versailles, Budapest, Buenos Aires, Caracas, London and the City of Mexico.

THE AMERICAN
A *Study in American Views*
on
Life and Liberty
by
EMILY L. COLEMAN FISCHER
Author of
“Heart and Soul Culture”
“Bright Thoughts No Blues”

Dedicated to
“All the Defenders of Our Liberty”

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EMILY L. COLEMAN FISCHER



Made in the United States of America

PREFACE

This little book is intended to inspire the present-day American and the foreigner in our country with a more profound reverence for our forefathers; and to induce them to return to the thoughts and ideals embraced by Americans of 1776.

There has been no attempt to make this a ponderous text book. The design being to present to the public a book on a vital theme.

Part first outlines some of the thoughts which filled the mind of Americans in colonial days and from these beautiful thoughts seem to emanate their lofty sentiment and noble action.

Part second consists entirely of selections, which are of inspirational, psychological and oratorical value, and also present the sublime thoughts and ideals ever found in the hearts of true and noted Americans.

Every American over twelve years of age should possess thorough knowledge of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States; the two documents of which our fathers had just cause to be proud.

Let us hope that Americans will continue to adore and uphold the Constitution of the United

States; and that every nation, "yet a stranger to it," may adopt a similar Constitution; then, we might hope for a "World Court and Universal Peace."

Acknowledgment and thanks are due the authors, writers and publishers for the use of the selections found in part second.

EMILY L. COLEMAN FISCHER.

Room 813, Victory Bldg.
Philadelphia, Penna.

CONTENTS

Part I.

	PAGE
Introduction	9
The American	13

Part II.

America—S. F. Smith	86
Constitution of the United States	65
Declaration of Independence	59
Education—William McKinley	33
History of the Stars and Stripes—Conklin's Argument Settler	54
Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers—Mrs. Hemans	30
Liberty or Death—Patrick Henry	40
Liberty and Intelligence—John C. Calhoun	46
Lincoln's Gettysburg Address	43
Maxims of George Washington—Conklin's Argument Settler	48
Moral Force of Example—Judge McLean	42
Naturalization Laws of the United States	56
Our Relations with Europe—Washington	35
Public Virtue—Henry Clay	31
The Flag—Edward Everett	32
Washington's Foreign Policy—McKinley	38
Washington's Sword and Franklin's Staff—J. Q. Adams	44

INTRODUCTION

Right thought is ever within us ; but it needs the sunlight of consciousness, the watering of perfect confidence and the cultivation of noble action before it will spring forth into the blossom of honesty or reliability. Inspire one with a desire for truth and the power of sincerity will emanate from the desire. It is not the truth one has but the truth one desires that communicates this power. The spirit of the truth should be cherished, not merely the letter or form of the truth.

In the crisis of life one thing, and one thing only, will save us from vice or evil, and that is a consecration to some form of truth ; some honesty or sincerity. It may be the truth of art, truth of philosophy or science, but let each one seek something noble—honor, greatness of mind, knowledge or usefulness. This element of truth, this love of truth or desire for truth, is so far as it goes the safeguard of character. To be honest, to be fearless, to be kind, will make our part in life's great plan truly glorious, and we need then stand in fear of nothing—life or death.

Americanism has implanted within us the knowledge that "honesty is the best policy." In being honest let us be true to ourselves and realize

that it is not only our duty to Americanize the foreigner, but it is necessary for us to safeguard our birthright and never be tempted to become Europeanized or to bow down before kings that our forefathers forsook; but let us live our Americanism in its broadest sense. What is Americanism?

Americanism is an attachment to the United States, a custom peculiar to the United States of America, an American characteristic or idea; and the greatest attribute of America is the strength of mind, resolution, independence and individuality of the people. Americanism is also the outcome of an optimistic line of thought embraced by nearly all Americans.

As Americans let us remember the words of Daniel Webster—"We may trust that Heaven will not forsake us, nor permit us to forsake ourselves. We must strengthen ourselves, and gird up our loins with new resolution; we must counsel each other, and determine to sustain each other in the support of the Constitution, prepare to meet manfully, and united, whatever of effort or of sacrifice, the providence of God may call upon us to meet.

"Are we of this generation so derelict, have we so little of the blood of our revolutionary fathers coursing through our veins, that we cannot preserve what they achieved? The world will cry out 'shame' upon us if we show ourselves un-

worthy to be the descendants of those great and illustrious men, who fought for their liberty, and secured it to their posterity by the Constitution of the United States."

The American thoughts and ideals depicted in **THE AMERICAN** are not only the thoughts of our forefathers, but they are alive in the hearts of millions of Americans of today, and they will continue to live "until time is no more."

The following lines quoted from President Coolidge's Inaugural Address will give a concise illustration of the principles which America represents:

"The past and present show faith and hope and courage fully justified. Here stands our country, an example of tranquility at home, a patron of tranquility abroad. Here stands its government, aware of its might, but obedient to conscience. Here it will continue to stand, seeking peace and prosperity, solicitous for the welfare of the wage-earner, promoting enterprise, developing waterways and natural resources, attentive to the intuitive counsel of womanhood, encouraging education, desiring the advancement of religion, supporting the cause of justice and honor among nations.

"America seeks no earthly empire built on blood and force. No ambition, no temptation lures her to thought of foreign dominions. The legions which she sends forth are armed, not with the

sword, but with the cross. The higher state to which she seeks the allegiance of all mankind is not of human, but of divine origin. She cherishes no purpose save to merit the favor of Almighty God."

THE AMERICAN

The real Americans of the present time are but living monuments of the thoughts and teachings of their forefathers; and may each generation preserve their thoughts and characteristics; their heroism, love of industry, freedom and liberty, and prove themselves worthy descendants of those illustrious men who fought for their liberty and handed it down to their posterity.

In considering their inheritance, may Americans never forget to place the proper value upon the beautiful thoughts and the moral force of example which they received by nature from their ancestors: for thought is the infallible agent of the mind, and the mind is supposed to be the creative principle of all things. Whatever seems to be the result of physical law is thought in manifestation. The Universe is seemingly a grand mental expression; and through the power of thought we may become masters of it.

"There is nothing so light as a thought and nothing so heavy. It will waft to the highest heights and sink to the deepest depths. It will yield the utmost liberty or hold the soul in bonds stronger than steel. There is nothing that thought cannot do if thought permits it. Thought kills or cures as the case may be."

Americans have reason to be proud of having kept alive the don't worry and fearless thoughts

THE AMERICAN

of their fathers ; and of continuing to think their bright and cheerful thoughts which caused them to be confident, expectant, hopeful and fearless.

From their fathers they learned that the most important step in the attainment of self-mastery is the gaining of power to subdue and direct the impulses and feelings ; the next step is to conquer thought, then speech, and finally to gain control over all the voluntary organs of the body so as to consciously direct every movement by will.

Having embodied these truths and having made themselves living monuments of their ancestors, it is not surprising that the people of America are enthusiastic, heroic, filled with aspiration, justice and persistency. Their belief in the words, "Line upon line and precept upon precept is not so great as example," has awakened in the heart of every American the desire for action as well as theory and to become an American one should assimilate the thoughts, principles, psychology, love of freedom and see life from the American's viewpoint.

This little volume expresses the thoughts of the average American on various subjects from life to liberty.

Life is the state of being which begins with birth and ends with death. It is the union of soul and body, also the duration of their union. To the student, life seems a lesson, to the rich an unsolved problem, to the idler a dream ; but to an American, life is what he makes it.

The American cultivates faith and love, which are the essence of life, and by working along these

THE AMERICAN

lines makes his life one grand success in this world and the world to come. He recognizes love as the breath of God that gives life to each of us and animates every living creature. Love is back of every force and substance which connects all things with the "Giver of all good." Love draws, invites, and at times seems to allure us, yet, life without love would be impossible since love is the very breath of life. Love is the basis of patience, resignation, charity, hope, courage and duty.

Americans have faith in God, their fellow men and themselves ; they are filled with hope and contentment which helps them to solve the mysteries of life. The American lives a temperate life and preserves his energy that he may be in his prime at sixty and not know the meaning of pain and disease in old age.

He does not exclaim with the gay-hearted Grecian, "Drink today for tomorrow we are not," nor does he float down the stream of life smiling or lulling his cares to sleep by the fleeting pleasures of life, for he knows life may seem a dream, but it holds for each a reality—duty. He is certain that if he does his duty that distress and grief may overtake him, but cannot disturb him. He feels that life should go onward without haste or noise, and the eternal step of progress beat to the anthem repeated by God and nature—calm and slow.

Americans are taught to develop their talents in youth, to live right and to think correctly in order that they may become wiser and happier

THE AMERICAN

each year of their lives. To them "thoughts are things;" they know that the soul and character are developed according to the thoughts uppermost in the mind.

To cultivate correct thought the American begins with the little things of life; does his best whether he likes or dislikes the task assigned him, and is true to himself knowing the world is quick to recognize and appreciate the conscientious, honest, upright man; such a man wins the confidence of others, as his character is usually written on his countenance.

The American is aware that life is composed of moments and necessarily each moment should be used to advantage, since a moment lost cannot be regained and that there is no standing still in life any more than in nature. He has also discovered there is nothing evil in life unless thinking makes it so, therefore, he is careful of his thoughts, knowing that "unto the pure in heart all things are pure." To him the tendency to drift is the most alarming feature of human nature.

Without faith, love, hope and sympathy to cultivate the soul, it would become narrow and skeptical, therefore, he pays attention to his mental, moral and physical nature, and this serves to produce perfect equilibrium, symmetry and poise; for poise is strength born in self-conquest or self-control. This training inspires him to keep all engagements and to never be too busy to lend a helping hand to the least of God's creatures, knowing it is the love one gives, not what he receives, that brings happiness.

THE AMERICAN

Each night before retiring the American questions himself. He desires to know what knowledge he has gained, what he has done worth the doing and what duty he has left undone. With this desire to perfect himself he goes forth the next day resolved to do better than ever before.

He considers it a duty to hunt for the mental weeds which grow without planting—such weeds as jealousy, deception, doubt, fear, selfishness and temper. He does not try to entirely destroy temper because without a certain amount of temper and a strong will he might be misused by others; but he tries to subdue temper by weighing all subjects before speaking; knowing that by suppressing anger he increases his power of will.

Jealousy is regarded by him as an unnecessary evil, born of doubt of one's own ability or the fidelity of his acquaintance or friend; the best cure being setting to work to acquire the traits of character of the party of whom you are jealous. Deception, doubt, fear and selfishness being the offsprings of the fear thought, he learns at an early age that the only thing to fear is fear.

He is affable under all circumstances, knowing that smiles, kind words and loving actions are food necessary to retain friends; if fed on frowns, cross words and unkind deeds they vanish never to return. He feels that one of the most pronounced forms of selfishness is to do as one likes regardless of the sorrow it might bring to others, or to enjoy himself at the expense of the feelings of some one present.

He fears not adversity or sorrow, for trials

THE AMERICAN

are often preservers and promoters of true love and friendship; they seem to draw one nearer to his friends and his God, thereby becoming a blessing instead of a misfortune.

The American is careful of his thoughts and believes each should be taught to think correctly since some of the most cruel deeds have been the result of "I didn't think." If the thoughts are of the good and beautiful, one is never alone and can enjoy everything in life from solitude to gayety. The power to think and concentrate is the foundation of all education.

He admits no ugly, irritable thought to enter his mind for many reasons, first—"Like produces like"—next, such thoughts stamp themselves upon the face and have a tendency to mar the most beautiful countenance. It is not so much what a man says or does; it is what he thinks that shapes the character and chisels the lines on the face. Education of the mind without a correct line of thought would be more a curse than a blessing; therefore, the American endeavors to chose the right road in the beginning of life, thereby avoiding the pitfalls found in the wide road leading to destruction. He is aware that by right living and noble action he can make his life sublime and increase and retain his physical and mental excellence to a ripe old age; besides, having lived right, he finds no trouble to die right, his motto being "Trust in the Lord and do good."

The American is thankful for present blessings; he is obedient, honest and industrious, realizing that obedience brings its own reward; be-

THE AMERICAN

sides, by honoring his advisors, teachers and parents he feels that he has earned for himself the long life promised in the fifth commandment.

Fear is not permitted to enter his mind, since persons overpowered by fear are miserable; he takes a brave stand against fear and cultivates hope, which becomes to him the rainbow of life and promises that every cloud will clear away some day, as all things are possible to the man that conquers self.

The American is true to his idea of the brotherhood of man; he believes all classes are needed. He stands on the shore and throws out the life-line, but under no condition will he allow himself to be pulled in with those he desires to save. He tries to live so that each day becomes a stepping-stone to a higher, better, richer life, and is never contented unless he is moving upward, forward and onward to infinite perfection. He cultivates freedom of thought and action, because peace and happiness depend largely upon the mental condition. He deals in constructive thought which causes his character to be as upright as his figure is erect.

Americans have proven themselves heroes in many wars, but they now prefer to be heroes of peace and settle disputes by arbitration, thereby wiping out wars from the pages of history in the future.

The American walks briskly, breathes deeply as one who is conscious of his power and has confidence in his own ability, his step is firm and vigorous. He knows that to such men are intrusted

THE AMERICAN

the great affairs of life. He aims straight at the accomplishment of all good and noble desires. If he fails, he smiles and aims again with renewed effort, realizing that will is invincible and has universal influence on the affairs of life. He laughs, is joyful, refusing to believe in shadows; depends upon himself, and, having found that right thinking promotes happiness, he never seeks happiness outside of himself, but tries to radiate happiness to others by deeds of kindness.

He will not permit himself to become sceptical or misjudge any one; he has a just appreciation of truth, simplicity and honesty, knowing "The lips of truth shall be established forever; but a lying tongue is but for a moment." He endeavors to put the best meaning on the words and actions of others and advises everyone to be charitable.

To the American God is love and the Giver of all good, therefore, he puts forth effort to be cheerful under all circumstances; and he seldom fails to see that nearly all the evil that befalls one is drawn to him by his own mental attitude. By the cultivation of faith, courage and patience he seemingly lives in communion with God and is able to smile at the temptations of life.

Despair is unknown to the real American, he smiles in the face of fate, is cheerful, hopeful and pleasant if the world goes upside down, for he is certain that growling does not help conditions. However dark the present, there is always a morrow for him, and when irritable or blue he restrains the tongue. He respects the laws of God

THE AMERICAN

and man and is courteous to everyone, realizing that true politeness consists in making others feel pleasant and happy.

The soul or innerself being attuned to the beautiful, he hears music in the zephyr, the roaring of the cataract, the thunder and the songs of birds ; but, no music is more lasting or sweeter to him than Mother's voice, since the memory of her voice keeps truth, honesty and love alive in his soul. He is fond of Nature, and to him the change of seasons mark the lapse of time and instil gratitude and a state of expectancy. The sun seems to proclaim the wisdom and love of the Creator, the moon and stars represent purity and holiness. The voice of nature seems to say "Think of God, think of thyself, think of eternity."

The American appreciates society, although he knows there is good and evil in human nature wherever found ; he speaks evil of no one class of society and is never too busy or too great to be interested in the efforts or pleasures of others.

While the topics of conversation are manifold, the whole realm of nature and art, the incidents and accidents of human life in myriad forms, yet he considers a thorough knowledge of men and books, a felicitous habit of expression, and ability to preserve judicious silence, essential in refined and polite society. He insists that to be attractive one must do small things well, take delight in helping others, develop the innermost by correct thought, never indulge in gossip, be

THE AMERICAN

unselfish, persevering, patient, tactful, appreciate the rights of others and pity the erring.

In company the American is cheerful and others partake of his good cheer; he cherishes a good opinion of himself thus fortifying himself against the disappointment of acquaintances who often prove insincere. His advice is, know thyself, respect thyself and love thyself warmly, but rationally, because a sensible self is the best of guides. He carries out the law of self-preservation, but not to such an extent as to infringe upon the rights of others; yet he agrees with the expression, "Self-love is not so vile a sin as self-neglect."

The American regards perfect health as the greatest blessing God has bestowed upon mankind. When in perfect health one is in a condition to learn, grow and to make a success of life. The man who keeps cool, calm, cheerful, hopeful and does away with anger, revenge and worry is sure to possess a sound mind and sound body. In order to acquire the attributes mentioned—fill the heart with love, never lose an opportunity of doing a kindness, sympathize with others in their joy and sorrow, obey the divine law which is love somebody, lift up somebody and bless somebody.

The American recognizes love for God and man as the soul of the social system; the regenerating power of the world. Love for flag, for country, for principle has made heroes and martyrs because perfect love is perfect unselfishness. "He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love."

THE AMERICAN

The American is calm and fears not—he trusts in the Eternal, Universal and Omnipresent life. Science teaches that sorrowful thoughts bring tears to the eyes, thoughts of tasty food increases the flow of saliva in the mouth, that wicked thoughts affect the vital organs, and if permitted to remain will undermine health and happiness. Pure thoughts harmonize mind, soul and body; therefore the American agrees with Solomon, "Better a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith." He fills his mind with bright thoughts, keeps in touch with things helpful and inspiring, avoids selfish, sordid people and surroundings which have a depressing influence. Dwells not on the past with its mistakes and disappointments, but lives in the present.

The average American has implicit faith in God and his fellow men; he cultivates his God-derived nature, realizing that there is a latent divinity in man, which, when touched by the spirit of God awakens his spiritual life. This line of thought accounts for the strong personality possessed by Americans. Personality is a rare gift, it is that quality which attracts the interest, friendship and love of mankind. Such a person is in touch with the higher intelligence and has learned to concentrate; he is able to direct his thoughts instead of being at the mercy of his thoughts. Such a person is hopeful, cheerful and happy regardless of the clouds that overshadow life occasionally, for to him life is too short to

THE AMERICAN

waste even a moment in discontent, besides, "The Lord's mercies are new every morning."

The thoughts of the Americans of today concerning business, alliances, or war are very similar to those embraced by their forefathers. To become a successful business man the American knows he must be educated, he must be able to concentrate, must cultivate economy, carefulness, accuracy, faith, courage, courtesy, honesty and truth. He must be a man of decision and action, for endurance, ability, reliability and quick action is necessary to success. The intellect, sensibilities and will should work in harmony.

The American does his work in such a manner that supervision is not necessary; he has gotten rid of such negatives as the error of omission and commission and has cultivated the positives—reliability and action. Therefore, he seldom meets with business reverses.

The views of the average American concerning an alliance can be expressed in the words of John Quincy Adams—"Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her heart, her benedictions and her prayers be. But she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is champion and vindicator only of her own. She will recommend the general cause by the countenance of her voice and the benignant sympathy of her example. She well knows that, by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence,

THE AMERICAN

she would involve herself, beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue of individual avarice, envy, and ambition, which assume the color and usurp the standard of freedom. The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from freedom to force. The frontlet upon her brows would no longer beam with the ineffable splendor of freedom and independence; but in its stead would soon be substituted an imperial diadem, flashing in false and tarnished luster the murky radiance of dominion and power. She might become the dictatress of the world; she would no longer be the ruler of her own spirit."

The warning and prophecy of John Quincy Adams was literally fulfilled when America enlisted with "other banners than her own" in the World War, and, although today she is able to dictate to others, how difficult it is for her to be ruler of her own spirit?

Americans do all in their power to bring about concord and harmony, but when war is inevitable they say in the words of Patrick Henry, "Let it come! Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God. I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"

By cultivating the inner forces the American gets in closer touch with the creative energy of the Universe and becomes spiritual and is capable of using this energy to benefit himself and others. He is certain that success cometh to him who pa-

THE AMERICAN

tiently, willingly, cheerfully and persistently serveth the world with his best wares ; his advice is, know what you want to do, hold the thought firmly and do every day what should be done and every sunset will see you much nearer your goal. Only the strong and positive spiritualized man gets all the great and lasting blessings of real success here, there or anywhere.

The principles used by the American to win success are simple : they are industry, willingness to profit by the experience of others, ability coupled with modesty, simple and correct habits, honesty, politeness and fairness. He is confident that every thought, word or action makes the whole world better or worse and often the want of understanding causes bitterness to enter a family, separate friends and break up homes ; therefore, he thinks before he speaks or acts and says with his whole heart :

“Away with doubts, away with fears !
Look up to God, who ever hears
The message of the faithful soul ;
He leads us to the promised goal.”

The American is taught that constructive thought is based upon harmony ; thinking thoughts of such an order as will promote the greatest peace and the most harmonious conditions.

Mind force is powerful in its activity and if rightfully applied works marvels and dominates every atom of one’s being.

THE AMERICAN

In the study of the power of thought, of mind, the American realizes he is dealing with life ; dealing with one of the most subtle forces in existence, and that thought molds the personality. Each line of the face, every flash of the eye denotes the character of the thought. Concentration is nothing more or less than the conscious direction of mental energy. Deeds are thoughts materialized into objective reality and their value depends upon the strength of the thought which incites the act.

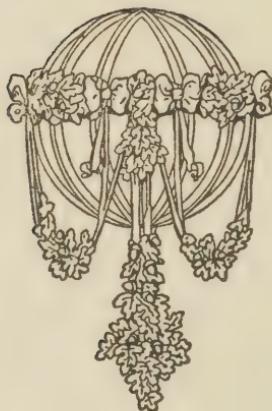
Possessing this knowledge, the American makes every effort to get properly started along the line of thinking and living with which his success is actively concerned, since he is convinced that progressiveness should be a distinctive feature of every person who lays claim to being a thinker. In view of all this he sees that the time for beginning of achievement—"for launching the bark of endeavor upon the sea of thought" and for the application of mental force is—now.

The American analyzes every thought, its effect upon him externally and internally, then selects those which produce harmony, strength, power, and concentrates his whole mental power upon them, seasons them with fearlessness and optimism. He sees nothing but growth in every experience ; sees sunshine behind every cloud and knows there is a God within.

This being the philosophic view of the average American, one need not be surprised at the success which crowns their every effort.

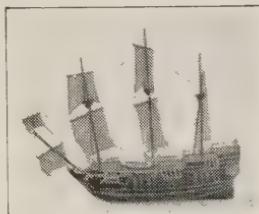
THE AMERICAN

“Our thoughts are molding unseen spheres,
And like a blessing or a curse
They thunder down the formless years,
And ring throughout the universe.
We build our future by the shape
Of our desires and not by acts.
There is no pathway of escape
No priest-made creed can alter facts.”



PART II
Miscellaneous Selections
Also
Declaration of Independence
and
Constitution of the United States

THE AMERICAN



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Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers

“The breaking waves dashed high
On the stern and rock-bound coast,
And the woods against a stormy sky,
Their giant branches tossed ;

And the heavy night hung dark
The hills and waters o'er,
When a band of exiles moored their bark
On the wild New England shore.”

—MRS. HEMANS.

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS

Public Virtue

Personal or private courage is totally distinct from that higher and nobler courage which prompts the patriot to offer himself a voluntary sacrifice to his country's good.

Apprehensions of the imputation of the want of firmness sometimes impel us to perform rash and inconsiderate acts. It is the greatest courage to be able to bear the imputation of the want of courage. But pride, vanity, egotism, so unamiable and offensive in private life, are vices which partake of the character of crime, in the conduct of public affairs. The unfortunate victim of these passions can not see beyond the little, petty, contemptible circle of his own personal interests. All his thoughts are withdrawn from his country and concentrated on his consistency, his firmness, himself.

The high, the exalted, the sublime emotions of patriotism, which, soaring toward heaven, rises far above all mean, low, or selfish things, and is absorbed by one soul-transporting thought of the good and the glory of one's country, are never felt in his impenetrable bosom. That patriotism, which, catching its inspiration from the immortal God, and leaving at an immeasurable distance below all lesser groveling, personal interests and feelings, animates and prompts to deeds of self-sacrifice, of valor, of devotion, and of death itself—that is public virtue; that is noblest, the sublimest of all public virtues.

—HENRY CLAY.

The Flag

All hail to our glorious ensign! Courage to the heart, and strength to the hand to which, in all time it shall be intrusted! May it ever wave in honor, in unsullied glory and patriotic hope, on the dome of the Capitol, on the country's stronghold, on the tented plain, on the wave-rocked top-mast!

Wherever, on the earth's surface, the eye of the American shall behold it, may he have reason to bless it! On whatever spot it is planted, there may freedom have a foothold, humanity a brave champion, and religion an altar! Though stained with blood in a righteous cause, may it never in any cause be stained with shame!

Alike, when its gorgeous folds shall wanton in lazy holiday triumphs on the summer breeze, and its tattered fragments be dimly seen through the clouds of war, may it be the joy and pride of the American heart! First raised in the cause of right and liberty, in that cause alone may it forever spread out its streaming blazonry to the battle and the storm! Having been borne victoriously across the continent, and on every sea, may virtue and freedom and peace forever follow where it leads the way.

—EDWARD EVERETT.

Education

No country, epoch or race has a monopoly upon knowledge. Some have easier, but not necessarily better opportunities for self-development. What a few can obtain free most have to pay for, perhaps by hard physical labor, mental struggle and self-denial. But in this great country all can have the opportunity for bettering themselves, provided they exercise intelligence and perseverance and their motives and conduct are worthy. Nowhere are such facilities for universal education found as in the United States. They are accessible to every boy and girl, white or black,

Intelligence and industry are the best possessions which any man can have, and every man can have them. Nobody can give them to him or take them from him. He cannot acquire them by inheritance; he cannot buy them, or beg them, or borrow them. They belong to the individual, and are his unquestioned property. He alone can part with them. They are a good thing to have and to keep. They make happy homes; they achieve success in every walk of life; they have won the greatest triumphs of mankind. No man who has them ever gets into the Police Court or before the Grand Jury, or in the workhouse, or the chain gang. They give one moral and material power. They will bring you a comfortable living, make you respect yourselves and command the respect of your fellows. They are indispensable to success. They are invincible. The merchant re-

THE AMERICAN

quires the clerk whom he employs to have them. The railroad corporation inquires whether the man seeking employment possesses them. Every avenue of human endeavor welcomes them. They are the only keys to open, with certainty, the door of opportunity to struggling manhood. Employment waits on them; capital requires them; citizenship is not good without them. If you don't already have them, get them.

—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.



MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS

Our Relations with Europe

From the Farewell Address, 1796

WASHINGTON

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the cause of which is essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

THE AMERICAN

Republican Government *From First Inaugural Address*

THOMAS JEFFERSON

I know indeed that some honest men have feared that a republican government cannot be strong ; that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm on the theoretic, visionary fear that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself ? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it is the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law ; would meet invasions of public order, as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others ? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him ? Let History answer this question.

Let us then pursue with courage and confidence our own federal and republican principles, our attachment to Union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature, and a wide ocean, from the exterminating havoc of one-quarter of the globe. Too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others ; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for all descendants to the 1,000th and 1,000th genera-

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS

tion ; entertaining a due sense of our right to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow citizens resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them, enlightened by benign religion, professed indeed and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude and love of man, acknowledging and adoring an over-ruling providence, which by all its dispensations prove that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter ; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people ? Still one thing more, fellow citizen, a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.



THE AMERICAN

Washington's Foreign Policy

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

Following the precepts of Washington, we can not err. The wise lessons in government which he left us it will be profitable to heed. He seems to have grasped all possible conditions and pointed the way safely to meet them. He has established danger signals all along the pathway of the nation's march. He has warned us against false lights. He has taught us the true philosophy of "a perfect union," and shown us the dangers from sensationalism and wild and unreasonable party spirit.

He has emphasized the necessity at all times for the exercise of sober and dispassionate judgment. Such a judgment, my fellow citizens, is the best safeguard in calm and tranquil events, and rises superior and triumphant above the storms of woe and peril.

We have every incentive to cherish the memory and teachings of Washington. His wisdom and foresight have been confirmed and vindicated after more than a century of experience. His best eulogy is the work he wrought, his highest tribute is the great Republic which he and his compatriots founded. From four million we have grown to more than seventy million of people, while our progress in industry, learning, and the arts has been the wonder of the world. What the future will be depends upon ourselves, and that

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS

that future will bring still greater blessings to a free people, I can not doubt. With education and morality in their homes, loyalty to the underlying principles of free government in their hearts, and law and justice fostered and exemplified by those intrusted with public administration, we shall continue to enjoy the respect of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God. The priceless opportunity is ours to demonstrate anew the enduring triumph of American civilization and to help in the progress and prosperity of the land we love.



THE AMERICAN

Liberty or Death

Continuation of an Appeal to Arms

PATRICK HENRY

They tell us, Sir, that we are weak—unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house?

Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us.

Besides, Sir, we shall not fight our battle alone. There is a just God, who presides over the destinies of nations, and Who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, Sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, Sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest.

There is no retreat, but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged. Their clanking

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS

may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable—and let it come! I repeat it, Sir, let it come! It is vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, Peace, Peace! But there is no peace. The war has actually begun!

The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that the gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God. I know not what course others may take, but, as for me, give me liberty or give me death!



Moral Force of Example

JUDGE MCLEAN

The great principles of our republican institutions can not be propagated by the sword. This can be done by moral force, and not physical. If we desire the political regeneration of oppressed nations, we must show them the simplicity, the grandeur, and the freedom of our own government. We must recommend it to the intelligence and virtue of other nations by its elevated and enlightened action, its purity, its justice, and the protection it affords to all its citizens, and the liberty they enjoy. And if, in this respect, we shall be faithful to the high bequests of our fathers, to ourselves, and to posterity, we shall do more to liberalize other governments, and emancipate their subjects, than could be accomplished by millions of bayonets. This moral power is what tyrants have most cause to dread. It addresses itself to the thoughts and the judgment of men. No physical force can arrest its progress. It enters garrisons most strongly fortified, and operates in the palaces of kings and emperors. We should cherish this power, so essential to the preservation of our government, and as the most efficient means of ameliorating the political condition of our race. And this can only be done by a reverence for the laws, and by the exercise of an elevated patriotism.

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure.

We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting place of those who have given their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our power to add or to detract. The world will very little note nor long remember what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here.

It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated, here, to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

THE AMERICAN

Washington's Sword and Franklin's Staff

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

The sword of Washington! The staff of Franklin! Oh, sir, what associations are linked in adamant with these names! Washington, whose sword was never drawn but in the cause of his country, and never sheathed when wielded in his country's cause! Franklin, the philosopher of the thunder-bolt, the printing-press, and the plow-share! What names are these in the scanty catalogue of the benefactors of human kind? Washington and Franklin! What other two men, whose lives belong to the eighteenth century of Christendom, have left a deeper impression of themselves upon the age in which they lived, and upon all after-time?

Washington, the warrior and the legislator! In war, contending, by the wager of battle, for the independence of his country, and for the freedom of the human race—ever manifesting, amidst its horrors, by precept and by example, his reverence for the laws of peace, and for the tenderest sympathies of humanity; in peace, soothing the ferocious spirit of discord, among his own countrymen, into harmony and union, and giving to that very word, now presented to his country, a charm more potent than that attributed, in ancient times, to the lyre of Orpheus.

May they be deposited among the archives of our government. And may every American, who shall hereafter behold them, ejaculate a mingled

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS

offering of praise to that Supreme Ruler of the Universe, by whose tender mercies our Union has been hitherto preserved, through all the vicissitudes and revolutions of this turbulent world; and of prayer for the continuance of these blessings, by the dispensations of Providence, to our beloved country, from age to age, till time shall be no more!

[From an address in the U. S. House of Representatives, on the reception of these memorials by Congress.]



Liberty and Intelligence

JOHN C. CALHOUN

Society can no more exist without government, in one form or another, than man without society. It is the political, then, which includes the social, that is his natural state. It is the one for which the Creator formed him, into which he is impelled irresistibly, and in which only his race can exist, and all his faculties be fully developed. Such being the case, it follows that any, the worst form of government, is better than anarchy; and that individual liberty or freedom must be subordinate to whatever power may be necessary to protect society against anarchy within or destruction from without; for the safety and well-being of society are as paramount to individual liberty as the safety and well-being of the race is to that of individuals; and in the same proportion, the power necessary for the safety of society is paramount to individual liberty. On the contrary, government has no right to control individual liberty beyond what is necessary to the safety and well-being of society. Such is the boundary which separates the power of government and the liberty of the citizen or subject, in the political state, which, as I have shown, is the natural state of man—the only one in which his race can exist, and the one in which he is born, lives and dies.

It follows from all this that the quantum of power on the part of the government, and of liberty on that of individuals, instead of being equal

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS

in all cases, must necessarily be very unequal among different people according to their different conditions. For, just in proportion as a people are ignorant, stupid, debased, corrupt, exposed to violence within and danger without, the power necessary for government to possess, in order to preserve society against anarchy and destruction, becomes greater and greater, and individual liberty less and less, until the lowest condition is reached when absolute and despotic power become necessary on the part of the government, and individual liberty extinct. So, on the contrary, just as a people rise in the scale of intelligence, virtue and patriotism, and the more perfectly they become acquainted with the nature of government, the ends for which it was ordered, and how it ought to be administered, and the less the tendency to violence and disorder within and danger from abroad, the power necessary for government becomes less and less, and individual liberty greater and greater. Instead, then, of all men having the same right to liberty and equality, as is claimed by those who hold that they are all born free and equal, liberty is the noble and highest reward bestowed on mental and moral development, combined with favorable circumstances. Instead, then, of liberty and equality being born with man—instead of all men and all classes and descriptions being equally entitled to them—they are high prizes to be won; and are, in their most perfect state, not only the highest reward that can be bestowed on our race, but the most difficult to be won, and, when won, the most difficult to be preserved.

THE AMERICAN

Maxims of George Washington

When but thirteen years old, George Washington drew up for his future conduct a series of maxims, which he termed "Rules of Civility and Decent Behavior in Company." They are as follows:

"Every action in company ought to be with some sign of respect to those present."

"In the presence of others sing not to yourself with a humming voice, nor drum with your fingers or feet."

"Speak not when others speak, sit not when others stand, and walk not when others stop."

"Turn not your back on others, especially in speaking; jog not the table or desk on which another reads or writes; lean not on any one."

"Be no flatterer; neither play with any one that delights not to be played with."

"Read no letters, books, or paper in company; but when there is a necessity for doing it, you must not leave. Come not near the books or writings of any one so as to read them unasked; also look not nigh when another is writing a letter."

"Let your countenance be pleasant, but in serious matters somewhat grave."

"Show not yourself glad at the misfortune of another, though he were your enemy."

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS

“They that are in dignity or office have in all places precedence, but whilst they are young they ought to respect those that are their equals in birth or other qualities, though they have no public charge.”

“It is good manners to prefer them to whom we speak before ourselves, especially if they be above us, with whom in no sort we ought to begin.”

“Let our discourse with men of business be short and comprehensive.”

“In visiting the sick do not presently play the physician if you be not knowing therein.”

“In writing or speaking give to every person his due title according to his degree and custom of the place.”

“Strive not with your superiors in argument, but always submit your judgment to others with modesty.”

“Undertake not to teach your equal in the art he himself professes; it savors of arrogance.”

“When a man does all he can, though it succeeds not well, blame not him that did it.”

“Beginning to advise or reprehend any one, consider whether it ought to be in public or in private, presently or at some other time, also in what terms to do it; and in reproving show no signs of choler, but do it with sweetness and mildness.”

THE AMERICAN

“Mock not nor jest at anything of importance; break no jests that are sharp or biting; and if you deliver anything witty or pleasant, abstain from laughing thereat yourself.”

“Wherein you reprove another be unblamable yourself, for example is more prevalent than precept.”

“Use no reproachful language against any one, neither curses nor revilings.”

“Be not hasty to believe flying reports to the disparagement of any one.”

“In your apparel be modest, and endeavor to accommodate nature rather than procure admiration.”

“Play not the peacock, looking everywhere about you to see if you be well decked, if your shoes fit well, if your stockings set neatly and clothes handsomely.”

“Associate yourself with men of good quality if you esteem your own reputation, for it is better to be alone than in bad company.”

“Let your conversation be without malice or envy, for it is a sign of a tractable and commendable nature; and in all causes of passion admit respect to govern.”

“Be not immodest in urging your friend to discover a secret.”

“Utter not base and frivolous words amongst grown and learned men, nor very difficult ques-

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS

tions or subjects amongst the ignorant, nor things hard to believe.”

“Speak not of doleful things in time of mirth, nor at the table; speak not of melancholy things as death and wounds; and if others mention them, change, if you can, the discourse. Tell not your dreams but to your intimate friends.”

“Break not a jest when none take pleasure in mirth. Laugh not aloud, nor at all without occasion. Deride no man’s misfortunes, though there seem to be some cause.”

“Speak not injurious words, neither in jest nor earnest. Scoff at none, although they give occasion.”

“Be not forward, but friendly and courteous, the first to salute, hear and answer, and be not pensive when it is time to converse.”

“Detract not from others, but neither be excessive in commending.”

“Go not thither where you know not whether you shall be welcome or not. Give not advice without being asked; and when desired, do it briefly.”

“If two contend together, take not the part of either unconstrained, and be not obstinate in your opinion; in things indifferent be of the major side.”

“Reprehend not the imperfection of others, for that belongs to parents, masters and superiors.”

THE AMERICAN

“Gaze not on the marks or blemishes of others and ask not how they came. What you may speak in secret to your friend deliver not before others.”

“Speak not in an unknown tongue in company, but in your own language; and that as those of quality do, and not as the vulgar. Sublime matters treat seriously.”

“Think before you speak; pronounce not imperfectly, nor bring out your words too hastily, but orderly and distinctly.”

“When another speaks be attentive yourself, and disturb not the audience; if any one hesitate in his words, help him not, nor prompt him without being desired; interrupt him not, nor answer him till his speech be ended.”

“Treat with men at fit times about business, and whisper not in the company of others.”

“Make no comparisons; and if any of the company be commended for any brave act of virtue, commend not another for the same.”

“Be not apt to relate news if you know not the truth thereof. In discoursing of things you have heard, name not your author always. A secret discover not.”

“Be not curious to know the affairs of others, neither approach to those that speak in private.”

“Undertake not what you cannot perform; but be careful to keep your promise.”

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS

“When you deliver a matter, do it without passion and indiscretion, however mean the person may be you do it to.”

“When your superiors talk to anybody, hear them; neither speak nor laugh.”

“In disputes be not so desirous to overcome as not to give liberty to each one to deliver his opinion, and submit to judgment of the major part, especially if they are judges of the dispute.”

“Be not tedious in discourse. Make not many digressions, nor repeat often the same matter of discourse.”

“Speak no evil of the absent, for it is unjust.”

“Be not angry at table, whatever happens; and if you have reason to be so, show it not; put on a cheerful countenance, especially if there be strangers, for good humor makes one dish a feast.”

“Set not yourself at the upper end of the table; but if it be your due, or the master of the house will have it so, contend not, lest you should trouble the company.”

“When you speak of God or His attributes, let it be seriously, in reverence and honor, and obey your natural parents.”

“Let your recreations be manful, not sinful.”

“Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire called conscience.”

THE AMERICAN

History of the Stars and Stripes

A Nation's Flag represents its sovereignty. The flag of the United States may well call forth more enthusiastic affection, pride, and hope than any other in the world; for it symbolizes not only home, country and associations dear to Americans, but the justice, liberty, and right of self-government that are dear to all mankind.

Its history is this: Soon after the Declaration of Independence the Continental Congress appointed a committee to confer with General Washington and "design a suitable flag for the nation." After the painful and depressing defeat on Long Island, the retreat through the Jerseys and across the Delaware, when everything seemed lost for the new government, Washington suddenly struck the vigorous blows at Trenton and Princeton that confounded the enemy and drove him back to Staten Island. Congress and the country were cheered with a hope and a resolution that never afterward failed them; for in the next campaign occurred the capture of Burgoyne, followed by the treaty with France; and the close of the war in our favor was henceforth only a question of time.

In the month of May or early June, 1777, following the staggering blow Washington had given the British army in Jersey, the committee referred to above, and Washington, completed the design for a flag. This was accomplished and the first flag made at the house of a Mrs. Ross, 239 Arch Street, Philadelphia. She had a shop where she followed the "upholder" trade, as it was then called, the same as our upholstering. One day the Commander-in-Chief, Hon. George Ross, a relative of hers, and certain members of Congress, called on her, with a design for a flag—thirteen red and white stripes, alternate with thirteen six-pointed stars—and requested her to make the flag. She consented, but suggested that the stars would be more symmetrical and more pleasing to the eye if made with five points, and folded a sheet of paper and produced the pattern by a

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS

single cut. This was approved and she finished a flag the next day. Mrs. Ross was given the position of manufacturer of flags for the government, which descended to her children.

In 1794 this flag was changed, though its chief features were retained. Congress then ordered that the flag should consist of fifteen stripes, alternate red and white, and fifteen stars, white on blue field. There were fifteen States. The stars and stripes were equal, and a stripe and star were added with the advent of each new State. This was changed in 1818, as the States increased and the flag threatened to become too large, by reducing the stripes to thirteen, representing the original Union, and the stars were made equal to the number of States. No change has since been made except to add a star whenever the Union increased by the admission of a State.



THE AMERICAN

Naturalization Laws of the United States

"The conditions under and the manner in which an alien may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States are prescribed by Sections 2165-74 of the Revised Statutes of the United States."

DECLARATION OF INTENTION

"The alien must declare upon oath, before a circuit court of the United States, or a district or supreme court of the Territories, or a court of record of any of the States having common law jurisdiction, and a seal and clerk, two years at least prior to his admission, that it is, *bona-fide*, his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince or State, and particularly to the one of which he may be at the time a citizen or subject."

OATH ON APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION

"He must, at the time of his application to be admitted, declare on oath, before some one of the courts above specified, "that he will support the Constitution of the United States, and that he absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity, to every foreign prince, potentate, State or sovereignty, and particularly, by name, to the prince, potentate, State or sovereignty of which he was before a citizen or subject," which proceedings must be recorded by the clerk of the court."

CONDITIONS FOR CITIZENSHIP

"If it shall appear to the satisfaction of the court to which the alien has applied that he has resided continuously within the United States for at least five years, and within the State or Territory where such court is at the time held one year at least; and that during that

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS

time "he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same," he will be admitted to citizenship."

TITLES OF NOBILITY

"If the applicant has borne any hereditary title or order of nobility, he must make an express renunciation of the same at the time of his application."



SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
After the painting by Trumbull



DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress—Thursday, July 4, 1776

AGREEABLY to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration; and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee had agreed to a declaration, which they desired him to report. (The committee consisted of Jefferson, Franklin John Adams, Sherman and R. R. Livingston.)

The Declaration being read, was agreed to, as follows:

A DECLARATION

*By the Representatives of the United States of America,
in Congress Assembled*

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed: that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to

THE AMERICAN

them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good

He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legis-

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

lative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states, for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as

THE AMERICAN

to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction, of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpa-

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

tions, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war—in peace, friends.

We, therefore the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, *FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES*; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as *FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES*, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right to do. And, for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

CONNECTICUT—Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

RHODE ISLAND—Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.

NEW YORK—William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY—Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA—Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Ben-

THE AMERICAN

jamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross.

MASSACHUSETTS—Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

DELAWARE—Cæsar Rodney, George Read, Thomas M'Kean.

MARYLAND—Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, James Carroll, of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA—George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jun., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

NORTH CAROLINA—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jun., Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA—Button Swinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.



THE CONSTITUTION
of the
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA*
(PREAMBLE)

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.
(*The Legislative Department*)

SECTION 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SEC. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole

* This is an exact copy of the original in punctuation, spelling, capitals, etc.—in all respects except the words and figures which are enclosed in brackets, and the reference marks.

THE AMERICAN

Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.† The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other officers‡ and shall have the sole power of Impeachment.

SEC. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the

† "Other persons" refers to slaves. See Amendments, Art. XIV., Sections 1 and 2.

‡ The principal of these are the clerk, sergeant-at-arms, door-keeper, and postmaster.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained the Age of thirty Years, and been nine years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President, pro tempor, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose ,they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two-thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and Disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of Honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

SEC. 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

SEC. 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from

THE AMERICAN

day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two-thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one-fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SEC. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation* for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SEC. 7. All bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

* The present compensation is \$5,000 a year, and an allowance of 20 cents for every mile of travel to and from the national capital.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to the House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two-thirds of the House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of Both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

SEC. 8. The Congress shall have Power:

To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on credit of the United States:

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

THE AMERICAN

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization,* and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right† to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the Discipline prescribed by Congress;

* The Naturalization laws require a foreigner to be in the country five years before he is entitled to citizenship.

† An Author obtains a copyright by application to the Librarian of Congress, and it is secured for twenty-eight years.

An Inventor secures a patent from the Patent Office, at Washington, for a certain number of years, prescribed by the Commissioner of Patents.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, Dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

SEC. 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or Duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitulation, or other direct Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another; nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United

THE AMERICAN

States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

SEC. 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws; and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of Delay.

ARTICLE II.

(The Executive Department)

SECTION 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

* The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; a Quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes: which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five

* This clause has been superseded by the 12th Amendment.

THE AMERICAN

Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Sec. 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

provided for, and which shall be established by Law; but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SEC. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the officers of the United States.

SEC. 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. (*The Judicial Department*)

SECTION 1. The Judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their Services, a Compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in Office.

SEC. 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all

THE AMERICAN

Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State; between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SEC. 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

(Miscellaneous)

SECTION 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

SEC. 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

SEC. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SEC. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion, and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature can not be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to

THE AMERICAN

this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislature of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the First Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States shall be the Supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States, and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of Nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

DONE in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

States present the Seventh Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In WITNESS whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G° WASHINGTON—
President and deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

NEW YORK—Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY—Wil. Livingston, Wm. Paterson, David Brearley, Jona Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA—B. Franklin, Robt. Morris, Tho. Fitzsimons, James Wilson, Thomas Mifflin, Geo. Clymer, Jared Ingersoll.

MASSACHUSETTS—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King, Gouv. Morris.

DELAWARE—Geor. Read, John Dickinson, Jaco Broom, Gunning Bedford, Jun., Richard Bassett.

MARYLAND—James M'Henry, Danl. Carrol, Dan of St. Thos. Jenifer.

VIRGINIA—John Blair.

CONNECTICUT—Wm. Saml. Johnson, Roger Sherman, James Madison, Jun.

NORTH CAROLINA—Wm. Blount, Hu. Williamson, Richard Dobbs Spaight.

SOUTH CAROLINA—J. Rutledge, Charles Pickney, Charles Cotesworth Pickney, Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA—William Few, Abr. Baldwin.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON,
Secretary

THE AMERICAN
AMENDMENTS
TO
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
*Proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures
of the Several States, pursuant to the fifth article
of the original Constitution*

AMENDMENT I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

AMENDMENT II.

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

AMENDMENT III.

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

AMENDMENT IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

AMENDMENT V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

AMENDMENT VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have Compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

AMENDMENT VII.

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

AMENDMENT VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

AMENDMENT IX.

The enumeration of the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

AMENDMENT X.*

The powers not delegated to the United States by

* The first ten amendments were proposed at the first session of the first Congress (1789), and declared adopted in 1791.

THE AMERICAN

the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

AMENDMENT XI.†

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

AMENDMENT XII.‡

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transfer sealed to the seat of the government of the United States directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a ma-

† The eleventh amendment was proposed at the first session of the third Congress (1794), and declared adopted in 1798.

‡ This amendment is substituted for Clause 3, Sec. I., Art. II., page 934, and annuls it. It was declared adopted in 1804.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

jority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

AMENDMENT XIII.*

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XIV.†

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without

* The thirteenth amendment was proposed at the second session of the thirty-eighth Congress (1865), and declared adopted in 1865.

† The fourteenth amendment was first proposed at the first session of the thirty-ninth Congress, 1866, and declared adopted in 1868.

THE AMERICAN

due process of law, nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SEC. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an Officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave: but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

SEC. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

AMENDMENT XV.*

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI.

Proposed by the Sixty-first Congress, July 12, 1909, and declared ratified February 25, 1913. The income tax amendment was ratified by all the States except Connecticut, Florida, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah and Virginia.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever sources derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII.

Proposed by the Sixty-second Congress on the 16th day of May, 1912, and declared ratified May 31, 1913. Adopted by all the States except Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah and Virginia.

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies:

[†] The fifteenth amendment was proposed at the second session of the forty-first Congress, in 1869, and declared adopted in 1870.

THE AMERICAN

Provided, That the Legislature of any State may empower the Executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Proposed by the Sixty-fifth Congress, December 18, 1917, and ratified by 36 States; was declared in effect on January 16, 1920.

1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX.

Proposed by the Sixty-fifth Congress. On August 26, 1920, it was proclaimed in effect, having been ratified (June 10, 1919-August 18, 1920) by three-quarters of the States. The Tennessee House, August 31st, rescinded its ratification, 47 to 24.

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this Article.

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America

The National Song of America

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
 Of thee I sing:
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrims' pride,
From ev'ry mountain side
 Let freedom ring.

My native country, thee,
Land of the noble, free,
 Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills;
My heart with rapture thrills
 Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
 Sweet freedom's song:
Let mortal tongues awake;
Let all that breathe partake;
Let rocks their silence break,
 The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God! to Thee,
Author of liberty,
 To Thee we sing
Long may our land be bright,
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might,
 Great God, our King!

—*S. F. Smith.*

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